361 Monguors seem to have an inbred abhorrence for the straight line. Some strongholds are inhabited by one hundred or two hundred families, mostly poor people, and have more and larger shops. The central stronghold is not, socially, the center of the village except when the T'u-ssu lives there. Monguor farmers, owning more cattle than Chinese, do not like to live confined within walls. Even the village meetings are not held in the stronghold.

The principle determining the location of villages seems not to have been the size of the population or the extent of the territory, but rather the topography (good defense points) or natural centers of community interest, such as an irrigation canal. In some cases the origin of a village can be traced to the fact that, in order to avoid trouble, a group of families split away from its relatives and founded a new village. In other cases, splitting-off was in order to move within reach of new pastures and sources of wood-supply. For such reasons there is great variation in density of population and distances between the villages.

## DWELLINGS

342 Since, according to tradition, the Monguors were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents, it is not surprising that when they settled in Kansu and began to build houses, they copied those used by the frontier Chinese, and so the houses of the Monguors are built on the Chinese pattern. Construction begins with the building of four outer walls, forming a square and facing south. The walls are formed in the following way: The earth is levelled for the foundation. Planks are set on edge, facing each other and braced by uprights. These determine the thickness of the wall. Earth is shovelled between the planks and then pounded tight by lifting and dropping a heavy wooden ram. When the space between the planks has been tightly packed, the planks are raised and the next course is packed in the same way. By adjusting the distance between the planks, the wall is made to taper slightly toward the top. Within the walls are built the mud-walled and thatch-roofed houses, with wooden rafters and beams. At the southwest corner of the enclosure there is a small gate, not wide enough to allow a cart to enter, because a small gate is easier to defend than a large one.

343 In the angles of the other three corners are built the stables and the kitchen, which is separate from the dwelling quarters. Under the windows, outside the buildings, are constructed mangers for the cattle. At night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals, horses, mules, and donkeys. The Monguors like to sleep amid the animals as their nomad ancestors did.

342 In the houses along the side walls live the younger sons, and in the same buildings are stored grain, skins, wool, farming implements, saddles, the grindstone, etc.

The chief of the family lives in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. A large room

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

342 in the center is the living room, and is used for the reception of guests and as the dining room. One of the two smaller rooms on either side of the living room is occupied by the chief of the family and his wife; the room opposite is occupied by the eldest son.

352 The largest part of each dwelling room is occupied by the *k'ang*—a small platform, two or three feet high, built with bricks, upon which the whole family sleeps, 354 sits, talks, sews, etc. In front of the platform there is a small oven, the smoke from which passes through brick channels under the platform before reaching the chimney so that the platform is always warm. In winter the *k'ang* is a wonderful invention. On it are spread felt rugs, and along the wall are folded and piled the covers and skins used at night. Three or four wooden cases along the wall contain the clothes of members of the family and the treasures of the mother (needle box, sewing materials, etc.), and there is also a small cupboard. Along 353 251 the wall, hung on pegs, are a gun, a stringed musical instrument, clothes, etc. In the corner of the room stands a jar containing fermenting pickled vegetables. 342 Part of the smoke of the oven escapes through a hole pierced in the window and the door is opened when the smoke is too heavy. Beams and rafters are like ebony, blackened by the oily smoke. Around New Year, the walls are whitewashed and two or three pictures of deities are placed on the walls. After a few days the whitewash turns brown and the walls are muddy again.

343 In the northeast corner of the courtyard is the kitchen and in this building the youngest of the married sons lives with his family—for in this blessed corner, according to the shaman, a large progeny is to be expected.[1] The two remaining corners are converted into stables—for these corners, again according to the shaman, are propitious for the reproduction of animals. Sheep and cows are fenced outside the courtyard.

## SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

621 Since nobles and commoners live in the same kind of 184 house and earn their living by the same means, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated. Poor and rich, nobles and commoners, live in the same hamlets, help each other and go in and out of each

[1] This custom preserves the tradition that the youngest son is "guardian of the hearth." There are many evidences that in ancient Turco-Mongol society elder sons moved away at marriage and received at that time their share of the inheritance. The youngest son remained with the parents and received the residual inheritance. Hence, according to Vladmirtsov (*Régime social des Mongols*, 60), the term *otchigin* or *otjigin*, "prince of the fire," for the youngest son. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis (*Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* 1: 176, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1951) point out that *ot* is Turkish for "fire," while *chigin* is the medieval Mongol form of *tigin* (*tegin*), which though occurring in Turkish is in their opinion of Avar (old Mongol) origin. They point to another word for "youngest son," *otqan*, as "probably" deriving from ot-qan (khan), "sovereign of the fire."—O. L.

[P. 75a]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

presents for this sworn brother, who then notifies his tribe not to molest the caravan. The traditional presents consist of bolts of satin and silk, or a load of cotton textiles or sugar or Chinese vermicelli. The next day, when the caravan chief and his local sworn brother meet, the caravan chief asks politely whether he can help his brother by carrying some things for him on the way back. The local sworn brother just as politely names some purchases that he would like made for him in Hsining or Lhasa, for which he offers to pay. The two understand each other's meaning perfectly, and the following year the caravan leader will bring as presents the goods that have been indicated. Thus in fact the caravan takes its way through each territory by a form of taxation in the guise of presents.[8]

On the way back from Tibet the Monguors bring with them *p'ulu*, a kind of woolen serge woven in Tibet in narrow bands, either dyed red or purple, or white with crosses of red or blue dyed in the fabric by the "tie and dye" method. This material, which sheds water, is greatly valued by both Tibetans and Monguors. The Monguors also bring back from Tibet incense, dates, and saffron, which they sell to Chinese, the saffron being used more for medicine than as a condiment. At the market in the frontier town of Dankar I once bought some dishes that had just been brought in from Lhasa with the Kuopa caravan. These dishes bore the trademark of "Regout, Maestricht, Holland" and had traveled from Europe to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lhasa, and from Lhasa, loaded on yaks, to the frontier of China.

The young Monguors who have once worked with the caravan seem to catch the fever of travel and want to go back to Tibet again and again. The older people, with the wisdom of experience, explain the mystery. The reason is, they say, the ease—and variety—of getting temporarily married in Tibet. The traveler who wants to strike up a temporary relationship with a woman in Tibet shaves his head just before his caravan arrives at its destination. This makes him look like a lama, and a Tibetan girl will readily "marry" him, assuming that he has no permanent obligations to a wife at home. If he were to wear a "pig-tail," the girl might be a little more hesitant, fearing that the "marriage" would last only until he wanted to go home. When he does want to leave such a temporary wife, however, the rascally traveler simply grows his "pig-tail" again on the next stage of his journey. In this way, the enterprising caravan man can sample the joys of marriage in a number of places.

## DWELLINGS

The construction and disposition of the houses of the Monguors having been described in Chapter IV, it

[8] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, as cited, 54, describes this form of the "sworn brother" relationship as a "guest-host" relationship, and gives valuable details on both Tibetan and Muslim caravan trade.—O. L. [P.116a]

342 need only be noted here that few Monguors are rich enough to hire Chinese or Monguor bricklayers and carpenters. Most Monguors build their own houses.

342 778 Rich people lay a foundation of brick for the mud walls of their houses. Even poor people, though they build their own houses, buy the frames for their doors and windows from Chinese carpenters. When a new house is built, the young people of the whole village come to help in putting up the mud walls of the enclosure. They ask no pay for this work, but are rewarded with a dinner. A peculiarity of all Monguor courtyards is that in the middle of the enclosure stands a pole from which flies a "prayer flag" on which prayers have been written in Tibetan. At the base of this pole there is a small oven for burnt offerings; but sometimes the oven is built on top of the roof of the living room.

352 353 The Monguors do not have much in the way of furniture. The living quarters of each nuclear family within the extended family consist of only a single room. Wealthier people may have "*k'ang* tables"—low tables, with very short legs, set on the *k'ang*. These are of the right height for people sitting crosslegged. Poorer people may have, in front of the *k'ang*, a rough table with homemade benches. A plank, on wooden pegs driven into the wall, serves for bowls and dishes. For household work, the Monguors made their own brooms from millet straw or tamarisk twigs. Only rich people paint the woodwork of their houses. Even in a poor family, however, there hangs on the wall of the chief of the family a picture of the guardian deity of the family, and in front of this picture there is a low table with brass butter lamps and bowls for offerings.

372 237 352 The fuel used by the Monguors is chiefly the dung of horses, cows, and sheep, dried in the sun. The gathering of this fuel means constant hard work for the wives, who must always have some reserve in case it is raining and dry fuel cannot be gathered. Sheep dung gives the most heat. It is dug out in bricks where it has accumulated and been trampled hard in the sheep pens. Straw and dry grass are also used in the little fireplaces that heat the *k'angs*. This fuel gives a quick, hot flame; though it does not last long, the sparks are drawn by the draft into the flues that run under the *k'ang*, where they set the accumulated soot smoldering, thus providing a low but relatively steady heat through the night.

352 372 512 112 521 During the winter the Monguor men, who work so much less than the women, spend most of the day sitting on the *k'ang*, either at home or at a neighbor's house. A primitive brazier is made by laying some bricks in a circle in which earth is placed to hold the fire. On the earth is put a mixture of sheep dung, husks, and chaff. This mixture burns slowly all day and is hot enough to boil tea. The men light their pipes from this glowing mixture, and sit all day long gossiping cheerfully in a haze of smoke.

[P 1166]

/41 cont'd/

585 Care is taken to invite for the event a master of ceremonies (called Lordziwa, from the Tibetan Lo-rgyus, "narration," "speech"); he will be a man highly regarded in the region, eloquent and adroit. He will make all the necessary arrangements, will give orders, will smooth out all the difficulties which could arise, and will pronounce the traditional speeches at the desired moment. He will have at his disposal two well-trained men, whom he will have close at hand and who will serve the guests at the table.

[342 349] The courtyard is made ready for the festivity, for it is there that it will take place; whether it is freezing hard or pouring rain, no matter. Besides, the T'ou-jen houses have no room which could hold 40 or 50 guests. The courtyard usually being rectangular, they build several masonry supports 20 centimeters high, on which are laid planks which serve as tables. These tables are two feet wide. The planks are not fastened together, are not painted, are not /42/ even covered with tablecloths. Fitted together, they form a single piece and are arranged in a horseshoe. /See illustration 5./ The serving is done from inside the tables. The guests are seated on the outside, on pieces of felt spread out on the ground or on straw. Care is taken to hang cloths above the courtyard, which give the illusion of being seated in a vast tent. The decoration of the courtyard consists of some Chinese paper lanterns hung overhead and some red silk streamers, 30 to 40 centimeters wide, draped lengthwise of the courtyard. In a corner two or three Chinese musicians make a racket.

[372] In the middle of the rectangle of tables burns a large fire, the sacred fire of the shamanists. From time to time they throw cypress branches on the fire as incense. Several paces lower than the fire, in the posterior part of the rectangle, are laid out horizontally on two little walls two doors taken off their hinges; they serve as a table where the presents are displayed. Add a few hens which scratch about in the courtyard, several lambs which clutter up the open space, several children who run between one's legs, and that is pretty much the scene of the festivity.

2: Schram--196 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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342

The young man in the center is a Beile, tribal chief. He wears on his chest a Buddhist reliquary.

2: Schram--200 M-4,5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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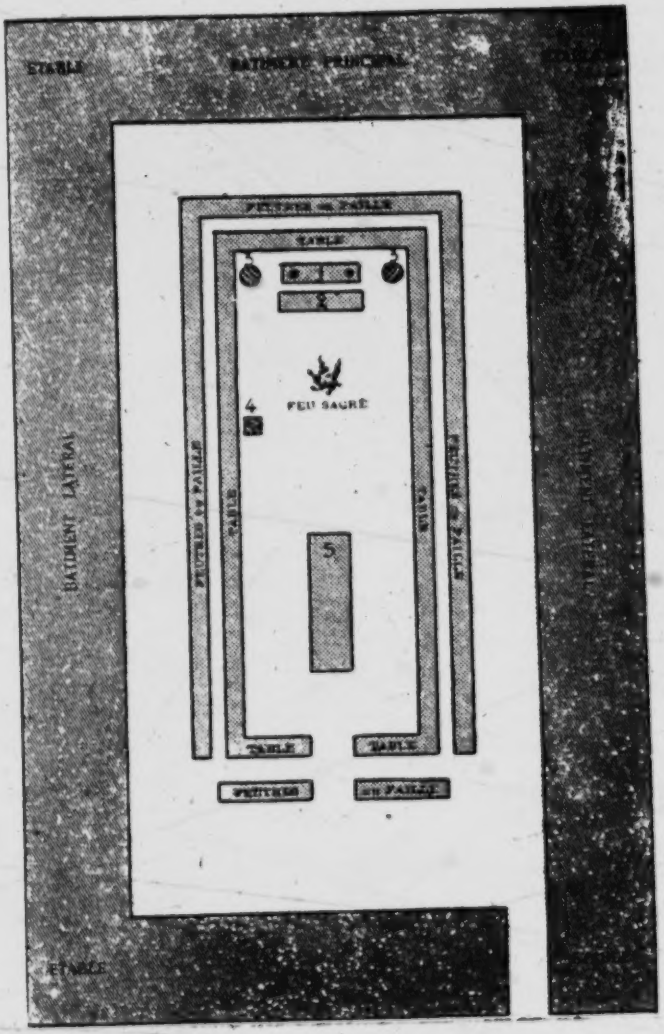


Plan of a T'ou-jen courtyard.

1. Table with the two lamps.
2. Red felt.
3. Place of the cupbearer.
4. Seat of the master of ceremonies.
5. Table where the gifts are spread out.

3½ Schröder--86 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate 2

137
*778
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782

*778
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●342
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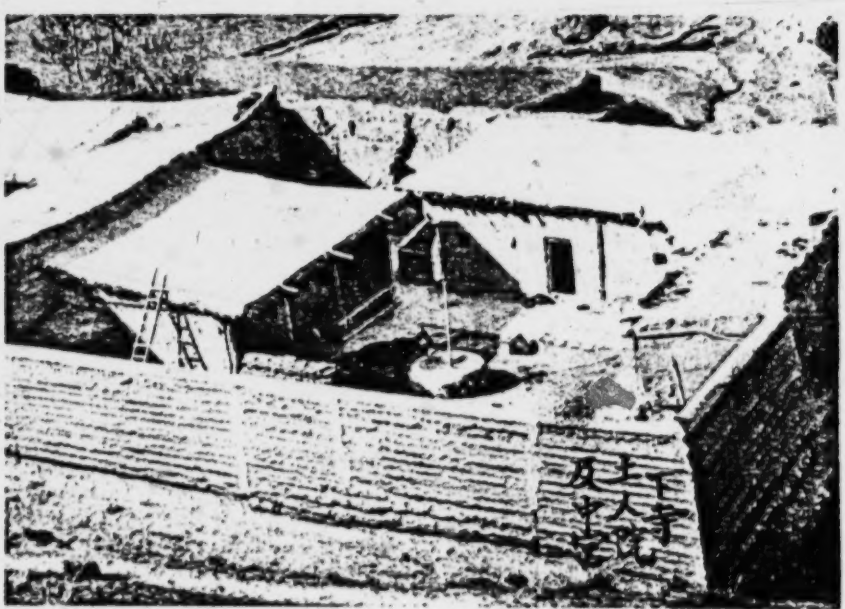

(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--87 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

*778
[137]
[291]
a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock
[782] of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

[342]
351
417
c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

000 [50]

## 2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

### Report

353
*778
In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are
[792] attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is
[777] not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Ch'ü-t'an was the only monastery in Huang-chung where laymen and lamas lived in the same compound. This fact reveals the mentality of the lamas and the customs of that time. These details were obtained from Living Buddhas and old lamas of Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, and in Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung, and among chiefs of the villages near these places.

### STAGNATION IN THE DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM

The building of the splendid monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, the exceptionally favorable disposition of the emperors toward Lamaism, the lavish granting of titles and privileges to lamas who induced Tibetans to submit, all seemed to augur a period of intensive diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung. However, for two centuries Ch'ü-t'an remained the only important monastery in the whole country. Two reasons seem to account for this: the insecurity in the region of Huang-chung, and the violent struggle in Tibet between the sects, which depleted the forces of expansion of Lamaism abroad.

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 12*b*–19*a*) that during the period 1448–1600 there were thirty-seven inroads of Mongols from Kukunor, the Ordos, neighboring Tibetan tribes, or revolts of Tibetans. Fortunately, the construction of Ch'ü-t'an was completed (1426–1436) before the troubles started. Certainly troubled times are not propitious for the building of big monasteries, so Nang-suos and Karwas necessarily remained humble institutions.

Conditions in Tibet were just as unfavorable: Tsong khapa died in 1419. The five biggest monasteries of his sect were built before 1437. The rival Red Sects were still so aggressive as to dare to build their monasteries close to those of the Yellow Sect, and were even able to hinder the lamas of the Yellow Sect from attending (1498–1518) the famous sMon lam New Year religious festival, instituted by Tsong khapa himself.[55] In 1537 eighteen monasteries of the Yellow Sect were destroyed. In 1553 a war broke out with the Galdan monastery.[56] In 1621–1631 Mongols were called in by the Dalai Lama to rescue his sect,[57] but the Mongol Nairamdahu, an adherent of the Red Sect, fled from Mongolia to Kukunor in 1633 and persecuted the Yellow Sect which had spread.[58] Finally, in 1642, Tibet was conquered by the Ölöt Mongols whose chief, Gushi, offered it to the Dalai Lama. Although it is recognized that the effective power of the Dalai began with the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam (1542–1587), his political power was still scanty and questionable; it only began to develop with the Fifth Dalai Lama, Nag-dban Blo bzang (1617–1682), when Gushi Khan renewed in his favor the endowment conferred by Khubilai on the Sa-Skya.[59]

[55] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 39.
[56] *Ibid.*, 40.
[57] *Ibid.*, 58.
[58] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 132; also Huth, *op. cit.*, 51, 248–253.
[59] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 48.

[p.246]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

# LIVING BUDDHAS

## ABODE

Living Buddhas who are possessors of lamaseries, live in them; Living Buddhas who do not possess their own lamasery, ask permission of the supreme chief of a lamasery to live as a guest on his property and to build a residence. Usually this kind of poor Living Buddha tries to dwell in a rich and celebrated monastery, where pilgrim caravans come and plenty of alms are offered. By having a share in the alms it is easier for them to make a living. This is also the reason why lamas prefer to be entered on the rolls of these rich institutions. Many Living Buddhas who have monasteries of their own like to have another residence in a celebrated lamasery such as Kumbum or Labrang.

These buildings enhance the splendor of the lamasery and are usually built by the tribesmen of the Living Buddhas. A stele is erected in the courtyard, with the names of all the people who contributed to the building expenses engraved on it. Larger or smaller buildings are added in order to provide quarters for them when they visit the lamasery. All the important Living Buddhas in the country possess such more or less luxurious residences in the celebrated lamaseries, built by their intendancies. This kind of residence is called Karwa. In Kumbum there are 83, in Labrang 40, in Erh-ku-lung 14.

## WHAT IS A LIVING BUDDHA?

A Living Buddha is the incarnation of a *Bodhisattva* who, having attained the highest perfection, has potentially become a Buddha. He renounces the blessedness of *Nirvana* and makes a vow to remain in this world in order to promote, by example and teaching, the salvation of as great a number of its creatures as possible. His vital essence thus passes from body to body—because the body, like every material aggregate, is destined to dissolve—but it remains immaculate in its acquired unalterable purity and holiness.[20]

## APPLICATION OF THE SYSTEM IN HUANG-CHUNG

It has been recorded that the theory of succession by reincarnation only started in Lhasa in 1475. In Huang-chung, the first known Living Buddha was Chang-chia, born in 1642. No records exist concerning the appearance of the first Living Buddhas in Ch'ü-t'an, Kumbum, or Sha-ch'ung. However, it may be taken for granted that these lamaseries would not have had their Living Buddhas as early as 1642, but it was probably close to that time that they began to follow the example set by Erh-ku-lung, rather than suffer in competition with it.

At any rate it seems that succession by reincarnation must have started and been practiced on a large scale during the period from 1600 to 1723, when numerous hermitages and branches arose all over the country of

[20] Tucci-Ghersi, *Secrets of Tibet*, 38, London, 1935.

[p. 66(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

792
the well bubbles, for providing them with water during 795
the whole year. 789

HERMITS

In the region of Hsining there lived, around 1880– 792
1895, only two hermits. One lived in the region of [342]
Waza in a cave in the mountains, and the other in the mountains around Hsien-mi. Both were strangers, who never divulged their names, or country of origin. They were not attached to any monastery and had no relations with the neighboring people. Each had a donkey which he used when he went to collect some flour and tea, for which they graciously thanked the donors and then returned to their caves. If some gifts were offered to them, they brought them to the monasteries and prostrated themselves before the closed doors of the temples for a whole day, and then returned to their caves without having said a single word to the lamas. The people said that they heard them reciting texts, ringing bells and beating drums the whole day long. Twice a day they built a fire and prepared their meals. They did not visit the people and did not like to have the people visit them; they refused all invitations to say prayers at the homes of the Monguors. During the terrible epizootics which decimated the cattle all over the country (1890–1893), they refused requests to pray for peace in the country. Their mysterious behavior intrigued the people, who could not get in touch with them. Then they disappeared, and nothing more was heard about them. They were not the kind of miracle workers so often described in records of travelers.

Monguors, talking about them, affirmed that in [789]
former times many lamas lived a sheltered life in caves, and possessed the art of working miracles.

In 1723, at the time of the revolt of the lamas and the destruction of the monastery of Seerkok where 2,000 lamas lived, it is said that the General Nien Keng-yao destroyed more than 1,000 caves in that country.[4] Because lamas in former times received the same education as at present, and were as eager for wealth and worldly glory as those of today, one is inclined to doubt such a fantastic number of hermits. I am inclined to think that genuine hermits did not grow on every bush, and that all these wonders and miracles did not occur at every street corner.

## VI. SHAMANISM

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter is not an investigation of the origin of 756
shamanism or its philosophy and religious fundamentals. Rather it aims to be a description of the type of the Monguor shaman, his training in 1911–1921, the spirits

[4] Han, Ju-lin, *Pien-cheng kung-lün*, 3 (1) : 47. The text does not say that recluses lived in them.

[p. 96(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

bow and arrow and quiver. The members of each family kneel at the door and prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. At the return of the spirit, the chief of the village and the elders wait for it in the temple yard and congratulate the spirit and thank it for its kindness and blessings. On a table are placed three triangular *torma*, five balls of dough, adorned with some butter, and a bottle of wine. The chief of the village rubs some butter on the face of the spirit, and on the faces of the carriers and the guardian. Then the faces of the carriers are powdered with flour, and a ball of dough is pressed into their mouths. Wine is drunk and the spirit re-enters the temple.

On the fifth of April the ancestors of the clan are worshipped in the old clan cemetery followed by races and the clan assembly. Three days before, they honor their ancestors in their private cemeteries. A few days later, in all the villages, is enacted the shamanist rite of spring, as has been noted, and the rites against hail.

The twenty-ninth of the fifth moon and the sixth and the twenty-ninth of the sixth moon are days for the young folk to make merry in most of the villages. There is singing and dancing and some villages have races and wrestling.

In the sixth moon the spirit of the Obo is honored, and at the foot of the mountain a big crowd enjoys races.

In the eighth moon the Monguors honor the moon just as the Chinese do.

In the ninth moon the thanksgiving rite for the harvest is performed in the temple. A few days later Chinese performers are invited to give a puppet show for several nights in the village. If the three festivals given at the lamaseries every year be added to these as well as the distractions afforded by marriages, funerals, the celebration of birthdays, and the worshipping of the goddess of the hearth at the end of the year, an idea can be gained of the calendar of religious activities and distractions during a whole year in the Monguor society.

## XII. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

### THE CULT OF FAMILY DEITIES

It is a fact of common knowledge that "the earliest obtainable reports about the popular religion of the Mongols invariably speak about the images of house gods, placed on stands at both sides of the entrances of their tents. They believed that these gods took care of their flocks . . . , that they were the protectors of the family and of its wealth." They were called "Ongghot."[1] This custom of honoring house gods was very old and general. The Monguors, when they settled in the country of Huang-chung, were addicted to this ancestral tradition and continued its practice, for today in

[1] W. Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953.

every courtyard there is encountered a guardian deity of the family.

## SPIRITS HONORED IN THE FAMILIES—PECULIAR CONCEPT

The Monguor concept of the deities honored in the families is very peculiar. Once a family starts worshipping a deity, its cult must be continued forever in that family, for fear that the deity, if evicted, might loose its avenging bolts of calamities and disaster, and the long train of miseries would never stop.

According to this conception, at the time of dividing the paternal inheritance the eldest son inherits the cult of the deity previously honored by the father. The duty to continue the old family cult falls upon him. His younger brothers, however, are free to make a choice among all the available deities of Taoism, of Lamaism, even of the Twelve Tengris of the shamans, and to start their newly founded families with a new guardian deity. Every two ar three years all the brothers must still convene in the house of the eldest, to attend a rite celebrated for the old family deity and to contribute to the expenses of the celebration. The tie which binds them to the cult of the old family deity is so strong, that in the event a great calamity overcomes one of the brothers, notwithstanding the fact that he honors his own deity, he will invite all his brothers to worship the old family deity at the home of the eldest brother. The old family deity which had been honored for so many generations is still supposed to harbor in its heart a predilection for all those who honored it. The old Monguor, Li San-ming, told me this in Li chia t'an in 1914, the day after his brothers had worshipped the old family deity at his home.

The fervent cult of the guardian deity of the family is a characteristic of the Monguor family. No Kuang-li of Naring Valley told the story of a poor old widower, Li ssu, living in the village of P'irke in 1908, who could hardly make both ends meet, and who had inherited from his father the picture of Twelve Tengris with the Black Tiger rider of the shamans, which he did not honor. Every time the villagers of P'irke took ill they went to the home of the old man, to honor and to propitiate the spirits, because a certain shaman had said that all the misfortunes occurring in the village were caused by these spirits, who took with bad grace the neglect of the old man. The extremely shy old man tried to make a living out of these circumstances and, stubborn as a mule, he would not allow anyone to honor the spirits in his home, as long as the villagers would not provide for his livelihood, for he knew the villagers were sick with apprehension. But the villagers, as stubborn as he, honored the spirit behind his house, burning incense there.

After his death, his only married daughter, living in the village of Li chia t'ai, inherited his poor house. The villagers of P'irke, having lived under the threat of

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
Uigur AI4

Kansu, in Yen Ch'uan Chai, which is Chang Hsien, situated 50 li southwest of Kung Ch'ang (Enoki, 158). The tribe surrendered to General Wang Ch'ao in 1071 with its 120,000 people. The *Annals* of Kansu 97: 14, record that Wang Ch'ao notified the emperor about the submission of the Lung-k'o tribe and petitioned to reward it with the name Pao (thankful). The request was granted and the emperor added the word Shun to the name, Pao Shun (thankful-faithful). Enoki (p. 111) noted also a Lung-po tribe living in East Kansu in 1071. It had troubles with the Tibetan To-chih tribe. However, the Lung tribes recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining were settled in Huangchung. The Lung-pu, numbering two thousand families, divided into two tribes, was settled south of Hsining on the northern borders of the Yellow River. Its people lived mostly in tents (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 3 *a–b*). The Lung-pen tribe numbering 873 families was settled 60 li west of Hsining. Its people lived partly in a city (fortress), partly in tents. The tribe controlled the Pen-pa-erh[39] tribe numbering one hundred families settled in the Hsi-shih-hsia (Tsamalung) on the rapids of the Hsining River between Hsining and Don Kir (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 12*a*, 15*a*). The small Lung-wang and To-lung tribes numbering eighty families were settled 80 li east of the city of Tatung on the borders of the Tatung River (*Annals* of Hsining 19, 20*a*) in the region occupied by the Shat'o at the time of their surrender. This seems to suggest that this group was congenial with the Shat'o group.

## UIGHURS AND SUBJECTS OF T'U-SSU

In discussing the commoners, the subjects of the Monguor t'u-ssu (Monguors I: 31–53), it has been noted that during the Mongol period (1280–1368), Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-chi, a member of the imperial family, had been appointed guardian of the region situated 90 li south of Hsining. He discharged the office of myriarch and evidently controlled his own 10,000 soldiers and their families. However, it is recorded that he governed also eight tribes of Tung Ku and vicinity, descendants of western Ch'iang (western Tibetans). Tung Ku was situated between Hsining and the Tatung River, in the region of Tatung, where during the Five Dynasties (907–951) Shat'o tribes lived, joined by other groups of Shat'o after the collapse of their dynasty. These western Ch'iang seem to be Uighurs of the khanate of Kanchow who had settled there in 1036. The Uighurs of Kanchow had come from the west, from Turkistan, and so are called western Tibetans, for all the barbarians are called Tibetans in the *Annals*. For what reason these eight tribes had been moved and put under the control of the myriarch

[39] *Anthropos* **52**: 560 sq., 1957. Dominik Schroder writes a very interesting article: Uber die Chia-Fandse von Bengbar, Tsing-hai (the Pen-pa tribe), und ihre Hochzeitssitten.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built.

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8*b*).

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses.

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380.

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5*b*).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M 594 596 [611] [591] A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The N *563 extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. M [556] In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

M [361] The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, M [182] [252] the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are M well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by [342] the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. M [264] [342] After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator N and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each *563 spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, M he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are 592 his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a 554 family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the [169] village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 648 175 311 The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables

M [343] and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The

M [231] Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [594] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies

M [354] [352] the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 M [351] [782] [353] [352] Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside. Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is M [252] always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, M [794] mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit. M [412] Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some